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Appeal by The Polish National Committee To All the Free Parliaments of the World

THE POLISH NATIONAL COMMITTEE at its meeting on March 20th again appealed to all the free parliaments of the United Nations and neutral countries in an effort to arouse public opinion throughout the world to German terror in Poland, the mass murders of civilians, the torture and ill-treatment of women, children and old people. It passed the following Resolution:

WHEREAS the Polish Government has on various occasions presented to the Allied Governments the facts bearing on the situation of the Polish people under German occupation and requested that immediate, systematic and determined action be taken in common against German crimes, and

WHEREAS the Polish National Council has often emphasized the inadequacy of counter measures taken up to now and called vigorous attention to the need of exceptional measures against the Germans,

BE IT RESOLVED that the Polish National Council confirm its former resolutions and renew its appeals to the Polish Government to take action to put an end to German crimes. The National Council emphasizes the number of murders carried out on Polish Jews and that those still alive are threatened with complete extinction.

Welcoming the Moscow conference resolution concerning the punishment of those who order or execute war crimes, the National Council appeals to the Polish Government to approach the Allied Governments with a view to the creation of a permanent international agency, the "Council for Saving Occupied Countries" in which all governments concerned would participate and which, with the cooperation of the United Nations, would systematically counteract the extermination of whole nations by German occupants.

The National Council suggests that the Polish Government take the initiative of a renewed meeting between Allied governments for the purpose of issuing to the German nation a new declaration of

punishment for the crimes committed in Poland and other occupied countries.

The National Council is furthermore of the opinion that there is a crying need of systematic propaganda, informing the Germans of all the crimes and cruelties committed by them and warning them of the punishment which will fall upon all even remotely connected with these crimes.

The National Council appeals simultaneously to the Polish Government to take appropriate steps to warn the German satellite countries adjoining Poland against any cooperation with Germany in cruelties to the Polish people.

The National Council expresses the opinion that Poland has a right to demand that exceptional permission should be granted to send food and medicines to Poland, to be distributed in Poland with due consideration to the Jewish population and in a manner ensuring that such consignments would reach only those persons for whom they are intended, i.e., the suffering Polish people.

Taking cognizance of efforts made hitherto by the Government's social agencies, both here and in Poland, to give help to the victims of German terror including the Polish Jews, the National Council requests the Polish Government to set up a body to undertake action with a view of saving the Polish people, now in mortal danger from German occupants, and to cooperate closely with the newly created American War Refugee Board.

The National Council expresses its profoundest appreciation of all Polish citizens fighting heroically under such terrible conditions against the barbaric German invader, including the defenders of the Warsaw and other ghettos, and pays homage to the fighters fallen in the struggle.

The National Council also expresses its profoundest admiration of all Christian Poles who helped the fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto and who risked their lives in sheltering the escaped Jews, and it appeals to the Polish people at home not to spare further efforts to rescue and preserve the Polish Jews.

"Who serves his country, serves himself, for in it all goodness is contained."

—Piotr Skarga Paweski (1536-1612)

From "Sermons Before the Diet" (1597).

PEACE FRONT

"YACEK DIED A HERO . . ."

A page from the Underground report on the Oswiecim Death Camp



These were incorporated in the underground book "From the First Front Line," published in Warsaw in March 1943.

. . . Yacek was a strong, big lad and was immediately detailed to construction work. He took every type of work in his stride; calmly and efficiently he did everything that was expected of him. The overseer, (a horrid Germanized Silesian who had been sent there through some misunderstanding) was clearly satisfied with him. Seldom did he cuff Yacek and when the S.S. men weren't looking, he would get him to do little things for him. The Silesian liked to drink and was in cahoots with the Germans, who from time to time on Sunday made it possible for him to indulge. Thus on Mondays the overseer did not feel up to brisk work or close supervising. He preferred to crouch someplace under a wall and take a nap. But when something crossed him on such a day he fell into a rage and beat the prisoners without mercy.

It was on one of these bad Mondays that Yacek and two fellow prisoners were on their way to work with wheelbarrows after morning roll-call. For no reason the overseer picked on Yacek's colleagues, began to revile them and slapped their faces. Yacek stood still, waited until the Silesian would get over it, looked on from lowered eyes meanwhile the way he was wont to when he condemned someone. (I wasn't present, I know the details from one of the prisoners). Suddenly the overseer jumped up to Yacek shouting: "Well, don't you like it? . . . Maybe you want some yourself?"—and he struck him in the face. As a rule Yacek did not react to blows. (Once you get in their hands—he would say—you know they will beat you). But when he was asked again: "Do you like it?"—he either decided to be stubborn or he had had all he could take—for he said belligerently and loudly: "No!" The overseer struck Yacek's face a few more times but as he must have felt uneasy beating this quiet man and excellent worker, he abruptly stopped, whirled round and again jumped up to Yacek: "Don't you like it? . . . Then hit them yourself! I order you to hit them! Go on! Hit them!"

To the stupefaction of several reluctant witnesses of this scene—Yacek replied with determination and calm: "That—no! I won't!"

They say the overseer was dumfounded, gave a silly laugh, shrugged his shoulder . . . Perhaps the whole thing would

THE following description of a typical scene in the concentration camp at Oswiecim is part of an account by a 20-year-old university student who was caught in a man-hunt in a Warsaw street in the summer of 1940 and like thousands of others sent to the Oswiecim slaughterhouse. He returned a physical wreck after 11 months and before he died put down his experiences on paper.

have blown over but . . . a German S.S. noticed it from afar.

"Yacus! Yacus! beat me, hit me! . . . one of the prisoners whispered—here comes the German!"

But Yacek stood straight and didn't budge.

The German came on the run!—he was a young storm trooper—he asked the Silesian what the rumpus was about. The Silesian officially explained: This young fellow refuses to obey his command to beat the other two.

"Ask him why?" shouted the German. The Silesian repeated this to Yacek, adding from himself: "Don't be stupid!" Yacek replied with quiet emphasis: "I won't beat my people."

Without a word the German took out his revolver. From a distance of 3 paces he shot Yacek and left without so much as a backward glance. The overseer called two prisoners over (he ordered his own men to continue on their way with the wheelbarrows) and ordered the body taken to the crematorium. Yacek was no longer alive.

The German understood what Yacek had in mind. That too helps one to form an opinion about German culture! And Yacek preferred to die than to revile a Pole. The young German, a product of the *Hitlerjugend*, had already lost all sense of moral values! Because a Pole dared oppose him he didn't hesitate to kill.

Yacek could have survived the camp. He never caught a cold, he was very strong, lice did not take to him. He was so alive that for a long, long time, waking in the middle of the night, I would look for him next to me on the mattress.

A fine lad, a dear pal—Yacek. He deserves a fine obituary . . . But I can't find the right words! . . . This boy could not have been overpowered by the camp, by any difficulties or persecutions, had they simply not done him to death. Yacek was strong in spirit, he had faith in his nation, he desired and waited for a free Poland, so he would have survived. . . .

I repeat emphatically: the most horrible conditions of the camp can be stood not by the physically strongest (though of course this is an important thing) but above all—by the emotionally and morally healthy. There are many such strong unbreakable people in Oswiecim camp. They are generally silent, concentrated, sometimes even a little secretive, their will is focussed on one thing only: to endure . . . They have character! Rather a general phenomenon in Poland, as we can see. They will endure if a bullet isn't sent into their head, if their kidneys aren't crushed by German heels.

I have no reason for doubts, despair or depression. Our nation is strong. The conviction is generally spreading—and Oswiecim teaches this—that passivity and cowardice are no protection against Germans. Hundreds, perhaps thousands have died in concentration camps who had taken no part in any political or anti-German action. It sufficed for a Pole to be a doctor, dentist, engineer, priest, teacher or intellectual to be sent to a concentration camp. Political inactivity saved no one. Nor does cowardice. Besides, cowardice—how pleasant it is to state this—is not a Polish trait . . . The thousands who filled Oswiecim during my stay there—were certainly not cowards. They did not cringe, whine or lose their self-respect. Informers and rats—were exceptions.

I am dying full of good cheer and proudly announce: they did not break me either . . . Not for a moment. Like Yacek I must die, for a mechanical reason: because of my kidney.

But others will live, the Nation will survive, Poland will rise. There will be a Poland!

Hundred and Fifty Years Ago: Kosciuszko Wins at Raclawice, April 4, 1794

On March 24, 1794, only a few months after the second partition of Poland, the act of insurrection against Russia was read in the market place of Cracow. Then, Tadeusz Kosciuszko, the "Chief Commander of the National Forces," took his oath of loyalty to the nation. A detailed description of this scene appeared in THE POLISH REVIEW last week.

It is difficult to determine the number of the Polish army at the outbreak, because its reduction was being affected.

There were some 26,000 to 27,000 soldiers scattered all over the country. Besides this about 14,500 soldiers in the Polish regiments incorporated in the Russian army were in the Ukraine, and at best another 5,000 people could be gathered in the Cracow district. The rest of Poland was cut off by the Russians. The Russian forces in Poland amounted to 29,000, the Prussians to 8,000. But an additional 30,000 Russians were stationed in the territory of the new partition, and 14,500 Prussians were hastily coming to help their own people.

Kosciuszko had to use heroic means to oppose force with force. He ordered recruitment of one foot soldier for every five houses, and one mounted soldier for fifty houses, in order to complete the norm of 100,000 men. Besides numerous volunteers from all classes of society took up arms, and volunteer detachments were formed. Kosciuszko counted upon using masses of men armed with pikes, or with scythes fixed vertically for massed attack, under the protection of select detachments of riflemen.

On April 4, Kosciuszko fought his first battle with the Russians at Raclawice near Cracow. He had about 4,000 regulars and not quite 2,000 armed peasants. The Russian general, Denisov, had almost 7,000, with one half of them held in reserve.

Kosciuszko was surprised by the enemy vanguard which stood across the road to Skalmierz, thus cutting off his retreat to Cracow. Kosciuszko turned against this enemy and entered upon the plain through which a road ran to Raclawice. The situation was not favorable for attack. The Russians occupied unapproachable positions behind a ravine, the Cieklce stream and on the Kosciejowska hill and surrounding heights. From these positions they could observe each move of the Polish insurrection army.

Kosciuszko's position was very dangerous. He could be attacked from the north and the east. The deep ravine on the south was not sufficient protection, and his retreat to the west was handicapped by steep inclines.

Kosciuszko took command of the main infantry force placed on both sides of the road from Raclawice to Dziedzierzyce. The right wing consisted of Madalinski's brigade, the left wing of Manzeta's brigade with part of the infantry and artillery under Zajaczek. The left wing was separated from the center by a pine forest. Under its cover in the ditches and ravine stood the Polish peasants.

The battle started about an hour before noon. Cannon balls tore through the leafy branches of the forest. The fire did not grow in strength because the Russians were waiting for Denisov's reinforcements. Hours went by and Tormasov became impatient. He decided to attack, fully convinced that victory lay on the Russian side.

Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon the Russians began to descend from the heights and to attack Zajaczek's command from the north. The Russian commander Pustovalov pressed so strongly that the Polish camp in Dziedzierzyce and the retreat for Polish soldiers were threatened. Part of Mandet's cavalry retreated to Cracow bringing news of the Polish retreat. The chief force of the attack

in the meantime shifted to the center. Tormasov threw the remainder of his divisions and the third column under Denisov was moving from the south against the right wing of the Poles. Madalinski, who had gone to help the left wing, was hurrying back to his position on the right wing.

It was about 6 o'clock now. The spring day was coming to its end bringing, it seemed, the end to the small army fighting for independence. It was then that Kosciuszko struck against the central column of Tormasov's grenadiers. This blow decided the fate of the battle and the continuation of the insurrection.

The fame of this charge, although the regulars were in the majority, is justly connected with the fight of the peasants. Tradition does not speak of the four companies under Major Lukke who in reality had a great deal to do with the victory.

According to the narration of Commander Slaski, this is what happened. "Our commander with his sword raised attacked the artillery with our peasants. Using 320 and leaving 1,600 in reserve. After the first salvo of cannon fire, with the loss of only 16 peasants, we took three 12 pound cannons. Calling out their homely names like Szymku,



Victorious Polish troops return to Cracow after the Battle of Raclawice.

Macku, etc., the peasants rushed full force against the Russians . . . they filled the deep ravine with dead." Eight more cannons were captured. There were two phases in this attack. The first was the surprise attack in which the cannons were taken, but this initial charge would have failed if it had not been supported by Madalinski's cavalry when

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Polish peasants capture Russian artillery. Detail of *Battle of Raclawice Panorama* in Lwow by Wojciech Kossak and Jan Styka.



Kosciuszko leads his peasant troops to the attack. Detail of *Battle of Raclawice Panorama* in Lwow by Wojciech Kossak and Jan Styka.

TRENDS OF POLISH ECONOMIC THOUGHT

by F. ZWEIG, Professor of Economics at the University of Cracow

THE characteristics of Poland's national economy, as reflected by Polish writers during twenty years of independence (1919-1939), may be stated briefly as follows:

The unification of the three parts of Poland, partitioned for nearly a century and a half, produced conditions and interests which approximated trade problems from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The newly created political and economic unity, emphasized the importance of methodical and logical investigations of Polish economics. To mention only a few writers on this subject: L. W. Biegeleisen, T. Brzeski, Glabinski, Stanislaw Grabski, A. Heydel, A. Kostanecki, A. Krzyzanowski, F. Mlynarski, E. Taylor, F. Zweig, all made useful contributions.

Their prevailing, but not universal, approach to economic problems was relationist, institutional and realistic. Economic factors are in a state of constant flux, and economic science must reflect these changes. An ounce of observation was worth more than a pound of reasoning. Every stage of economic development has its own rules, that hold good for this stage only.

An early stage of industrialization brought problems of economic progress to the fore. What factors are responsible for speedy industrialization and economic progress in general? This was widely discussed, and made the subject of investigation and even of a public contest organized by the "Bank of National Economy."

Then the dynamics of Economics were inquired into. What are the factors responsible for economic progress or retrogression?—this subject was dealt with in a study of Poland's economy by Krzyzanowski in his book on *Impoverishment of Contemporary Poland* (1925), and in many others of his writings.

Problems of production related to different models of economy, to different technical, psychological, and social conditions, and different organizations, were discussed in a standard work by the late W. Zawadzki (Vice-Chairman of the Econometric Society in the U. S. A.): *The Theory of Production*, 1923 (translated into French).

The dynamic approach to economic problems may be regarded as quite a feature of Polish Post-War Economic Theories.

The high birthrate in relation to the density of agricultural population and "disguised unemployment" aroused great interest in population problems. The problem of optimum population was discussed from the points of view of the rate of increase (1) in population, (2) in wealth, and (3) in technical progress.

The common view inclined to regard over-population as under-capitalization (or sub-progress) and the main emphasis was laid on savings, to provide new investment funds, on capital influx from abroad, or on technical progress.

In this respect two opposite views were expressed. One by A. Krzyzanowski, who pointed out the limitations of Malthus' doctrine, based on the assumption of a static technique; he nevertheless accepted some of its implications.

The opposite view was represented by advocates of planned economy (Stanislaw Grabski), who sought to remedy over-population by rational organization of Poland's economic resources as a whole. The necessity of conscious readjustment by an impoverished country to the disruption of world economy, to closed boundaries for Poland's labor surplus (immigration quotas) was pointed out.

In this connection the problem of land reform and agricultural structure was studied. The investigations of the Institute for Agricultural Research in Pulawy were especially remarkable. These investigations pointed to the superiority of

small peasant farms over huge estates with regard to gross income and ability to absorb surplus population.

The long and disastrous process of inflation in three stages (war inflation, 1914-18; first post-war inflation, 1919-23, second post-war inflation, 1925-26) also led to a number of investigations and studies devoted to monetary problems, some of them remarkable.

The writers mostly adhered to the quantitative theory of money, since this theory seemed to a large extent to have been supported by events in Poland.

During recent years and under the influence of the Great Depression the quantitative theory has been abandoned, or rather revised. Some writers have pointed out the primary importance of wages, and the duty of the State to control inflation. If wage levels are stabilized, the rise in the volume of money has no inflationary effect, while a smaller increase of currency circulation accompanied by a steady rise of wages might develop wild inflation.

The Great Depression lasted in Poland from 1930 to 1935, and was aggravated by an intense slump in agriculture. It led to renewed interest in the investigation of business cycles in industry and in agriculture, and of the changes produced by them in the national income and its distribution. The Institute for Research of Business Cycles and Prices, founded in Warsaw in 1928 by E. Lipinski, editor of *The Polish Economist*, promoted these inquiries.

Studies of income, its distribution, composition, and changes under the influence of Business Cycles were contributed by many writers.

Structural changes in world economy, especially in the distribution of raw materials and the formation of international cartels, were dealt with by H. Gliwic, some of whose writings were translated into French. Structural changes in international trade were analyzed by H. Strassburger.

The problem of saving has played a most important role in Polish Economics. With a high birthrate, small industry, and Public Finance organically inclined towards a deficit (as the outcome of many factors inherent in Polish politics and economy), with a small per capita national income (and therefore little propensity to save), we have attached extreme importance to an increase in the rate of saving. The orthodox currency and credit policy of the Polish Government in the Great Depression was in many ways due to this.

The problem of saving was treated as a problem of incentives to save (saving for personal security and saving under conditions of economic and political security); as a problem of sources of saving (the magnitude of national income); as a problem of distribution of income (saving as a corrector of unfair distribution).

The orthodox view which stressed the advantages of saving all along the line has prevailed. However, the distinction was emphasized between real saving (in durable production and consumption goods) and pecuniary saving, savings being defined as that part of income which serves to satisfy wants extending beyond a certain period of time. (The time factor is an essential element in the concept of saving.)

It has been urged by many writers that excessive protection of money savings is detrimental to real saving (investment), which determines the national income. By promoting actual investments we increase the national income, and therefore also the part devoted to saving.

The theory that an orthodox saving policy cannot achieve full employment and full utilization of our resources has been accepted by many writers (Rybarski).

A new approach to the problem of saving from the dynamic point of view (that is, how saving, defined as the difference

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"C.I.A." A MEMORABLE POLISH ACHIEVEMENT

FTER the armistice I found myself with other Poles near Toulouse, in France. It was July, 1940, and we were in the little town of Loure-Barousse.

Unexpectedly, a soldier of General Maczek's brigade, who was usually silent spoke. "If Poland had had another ten years to work as she worked before the war, the Germans would never have beaten her." He was an emigrant from Lancut, who had been working on a farm near Dijon since 1935. In that moment of disappointment, sorrow and depression, we felt after the defeat of the French, Belgian and Dutch armies, these words of faith, spoken by this emigrant soldier, were a new, strong voice. When I questioned him he answered: "My sister wrote before the war that brother had taken some land and that he had a farm. My brother-in-law also bought a few acres. My mother opened a shop in the town and she is not dependent on my brother. And all this began when they started to build those factories, then my brother and brother-in-law put in gas. Money began to be plentiful in the village, people paid their debts and bought what they needed." He was silent, his thoughts had evidently strayed to Lancut. I knew the Central Industrial Area well and Lancut in its center.

The building of the Central Industrial Area took several years. Plans of factory buildings were prepared to supplement production. In other institutions young engineers were being trained and prepared for work in the plants. Plans for the building of roads were worked out in the ministries, as well as rail communication, new industrial centers, health services, etc. Some beginnings were made earlier, as for instance, the chemical fertilizer factory at Moscice. It was in 1936 that the Minister of Finance, Kwiatkowski, worked out the financial program for the Central Industrial Area, which is situated in the south of Poland, in over-populated and poor districts. France has 76 inhabitants to the square kilometer, while the district of Lancut has as many as 110. Powerful and industrial Germany had 135 inhabitants to the square kilometer before the war, while the district of Krosno had 120.

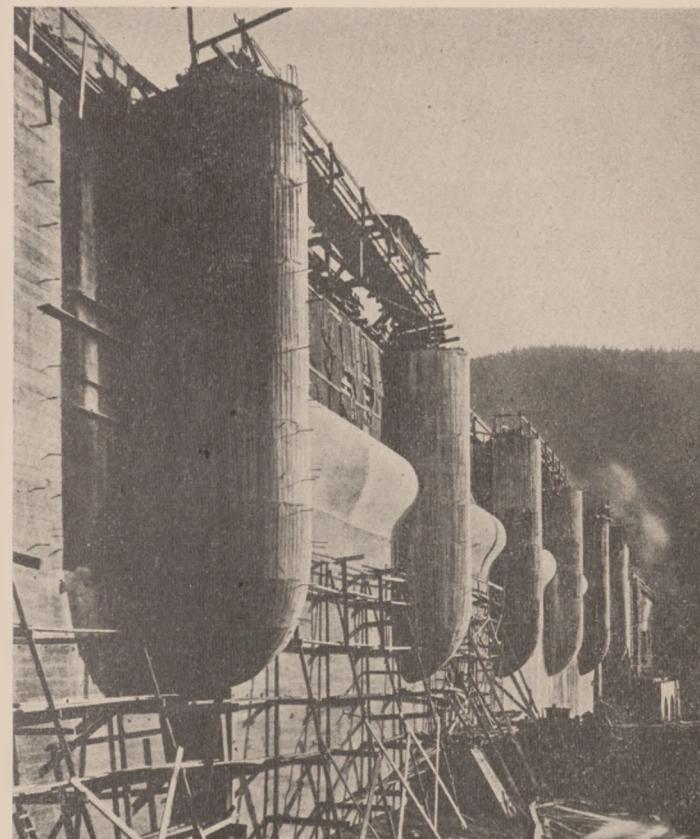
So before the last war, many emigrants went from Lancut, Krosno, Kolbuszowa and other districts to America, France or Germany to make a living.

At first, industrialization was to have been concentrated between the Dunajec, the Vistula and the San, then the plan was extended to the right bank of the Vistula, and finally the Central Industrial Area was to cross both Vistula and San.

At Debica, near Moscice, a celluloid factory was built. Two aircraft factories were begun at Mielec and Rzeszow, a great iron and steel plant Stalowa Wola was built near Nisko, where an electric plant was built and an aluminum foundry begun. Great chemical works were begun and various other factories and plants were put up in the same district.

Another task was control of the waterways and of the spring thaw. A dam was built at Porabka on the Dunajec, and one at Roznow for the hydro-electrical plant. A second power station was begun below Roznow at Rzeszow. This work controlled many mountain floods.

Work was begun several years before the building of the C. I. A. to connect the electrical plants in the area by high-



Dam on the Dunajec under construction. One of the achievements of the Polish economic plan.

tension cables. A hydro-electric plant was built in Pomorze at Grodek to plans by Professor Narutowicz (he was later President of Poland). This plant furnished power and light to many places in Pomorze, the chief being Gdynia. Then the old and new factories in the Radom-Kielce district were joined in one area. Later another was created to join Moscice with Roznow and Stalowa Wola. Before the war steps had been taken to build industrial lines to connect these areas one to another. The first high-tension line was to pass over the Vistula and join Moscice to the Radom-Kielce district, as far as Warsaw.

The second step in the industrialization of the country was to distribute natural gas by means of pipe-lines to the chemical industry and foundries. Gas deposits were worked first in the neighborhood of Daszawa and Krosno and the pipeline went to Lwow. Later other lines were built all over the area covered by the C. I. A.

If the C. I. A. increased Poland's production and enriched the country through the work of engineers and workers, it was not the only achievements of Polish authorities in this sphere. During twenty years many factories were built which produced goods not previously made in Poland, since neither the Russians nor the Austrians nor the Germans had given any thought to the industrialization of Poland during the long years of partition. A potassium salt mine was started in the south, the production of locomotives and excellent passenger coaches and good trucks begun, the production of motors, tramears, pigments and many other chemical products was set in motion, and aircraft, war weapons, machine tools, precision instruments, etc., were built.—B. J.

POLISH HOME ARMY HAS NEVER STOPPED FIGHTING

THE first secret military organization came into being in Poland immediately after the cessation of hostilities between the regular armies. According to the German communique published in the *Heeres Verordnungsblatt* (Journal of Army Regulations) in Berlin on January 2nd, 1940, this was on October 6th, 1939. Steps were taken immediately to create regional underground organizations, to operate on various sectors of the home front, and little by little, to mobilize the people into active struggle against the invaders. A supreme command came into being on May 17th, 1940, with the title of "Command of the Military Organisation of Underground Poland." At first it did not have control of all activities, operations were not co-ordinated, and all branches were not brought within a single organization. It took some time to achieve this centralization of all armed efforts along one definite direction and under a single command.

In 1942 the Polish Underground Army was completely reorganized. All the semi-independent groups which *de facto*, rather than formally, were subject to the supreme command, were brought within a single *Home Army*. Parallel to this the State administration was completely reorganized, and a *Home Political Representation* was called into being. The *Home Army* therefore operates within the framework of a State which works underground. The basic aim of that army is to recover State freedom and the power to function in the open. The strength of the Polish Underground is based on armed forces, a powerful unit of which is operating in Poland. Two other branches of the Polish State Army are the Polish Army in Great Britain and the Polish Army in the Middle East.

The Underground Army consists of active and reserve forces. The active force is permanently mobilized to carry out sabotage, reprisals, sentences, etc. The army's activity is planned in detail. The leaders of the army are obeyed implicitly by the Poles. Every appeal for money is answered

enthusiastically, and anyone called to Service in the Polish Underground Army obeys. Such a summons is regarded as an honor.

At the head of the Polish Underground Army is the Commander, who is directly responsible to the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces in Great Britain. All commanders of units in Poland are responsible to the Commander. Military operations are organized into two groups: emergency activity aimed at weakening the German potential on the Eastern front and at keeping the Germans in a continual state of alarm in Poland; and preparation for future military operations in Europe. The emergency activity calls for only certain sections of the Underground Army, which strikes from within at the Germans. The fact that Germany maintains hundreds of thousands of armed men, mainly S.S. detachments, in Poland, is proof that the Polish Underground Army operates effectively. To this must be added the fact mentioned in a number of reports from Poland, that the Germans officially call the concentration camp in Majdanek a prisoner of war camp and recognize

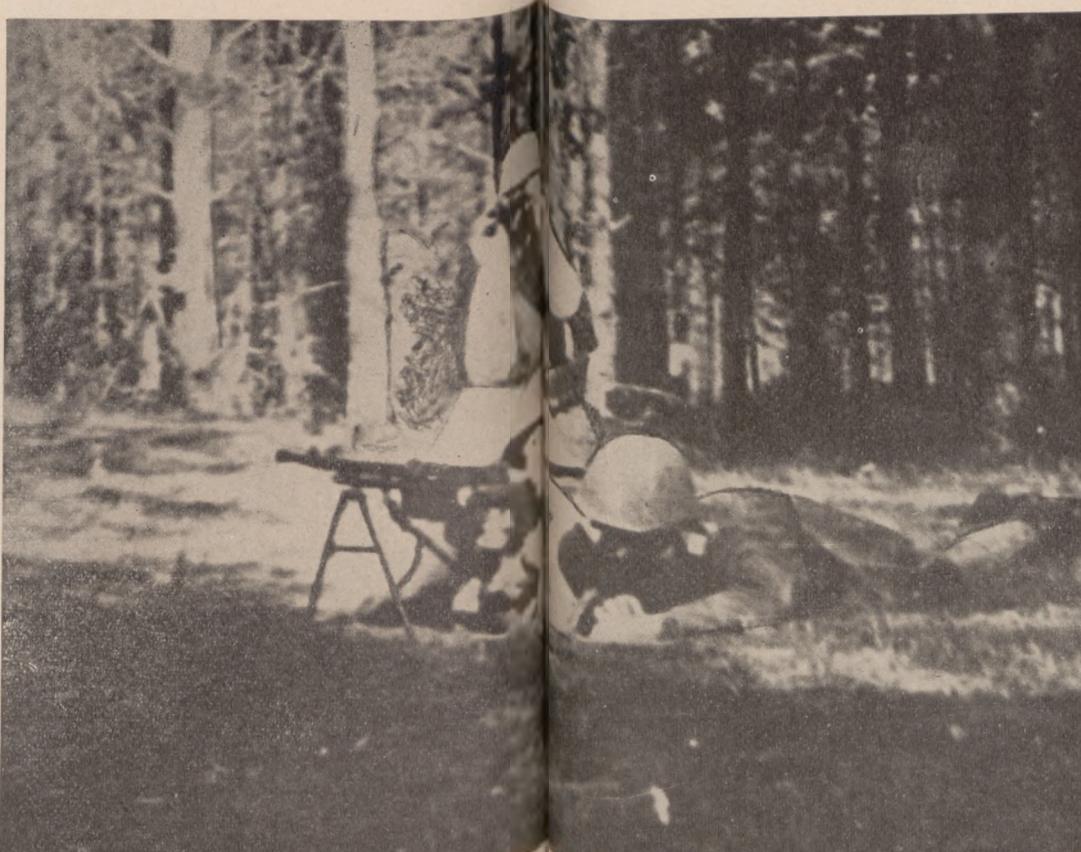
nize persons sent there as prisoners of war. Only members of the Polish Underground Army are sent there. Thus, the Germans once more confirm that the war is not over in Poland.

The Underground Army also has its members among the Poles deported to forced labor in the Reich, who are ready for action when the right moment arrives. In addition special soldiers are given orders to carry out reprisals in Germany itself. A communique issued by the Directorate of Civil Resistance on June 28th, 1943, states:

"As a reprisal for German bestialities in Poland, and in particular for the murder of 189 Poles in Poznan and the massacre of 94 prisoners in the Pawia Prison (a prison in Warsaw) on May 7, 1943, two bombs were exploded in the Silesian Station in Berlin at 9 p.m. on May 10th, 1943, and one bomb was exploded at the station in Breslau at 9:30 p.m. on May 12th, 1942. These two actions accounted for 15 Germans killed and 26 wounded."

The struggle of the Underground in Poland is designed to take some of the load off the Russian front, and to prepare the ground for the Allies and for the Polish Underground Army. This struggle is based on agreement with the Supreme Army Command, and through it with the command of the Allied troops in the West.

Poland has not stopped fighting since the German aggression on September 1, 1939. The Polish people are in arms—some on active service, others awaiting their turn. Poland organized under the Directorate of Civil Resistance is an active front. Figures, which for obvious reasons cannot be published yet, give the amount of destruction of military material destined for the Eastern front. There is no doubt that the Polish Underground Army is contributing toward Allied victory now. There is no doubt that when the signal



Soldiers of the Polish Home Army secretly in Poland through underground channels.



Headquarters of a Polish Home Army unit deep in the Polish forest. Photo recently brought from Poland through underground channels.

is given the Polish Underground Army like one man will answer the call to arms.

POLAND RISES

*Tiny homes in Poland
Quake with fear tonight,
The land is dрап'd with fog and mist
Hiding Poland's might.*

*An eerie wind across the plains
Whistles like a fife,
A martial tune of better years
That fills a dream with life.*

*Tiny homes in Poland
Quake with fear tonight,
Flitting forms slip through the gloom
Spreading Nazi fright.*

*From the bogs and swamps of Poland
Stems an ancient cry,
For men of valour stand once more
Bravely fighting till they die.*

*Yes, the tiny homes in Poland
Turned their fear to hate,
Bloody knives and iron bars
Foretell the tyrant's fate.*

—GEORGE W. SPRENGER.



Secret machine-gun drill by Polish Home Army troops. Photo recently brought from Poland through underground channels.

FREDERIC CHOPIN—By Hendrik Willem Van Loon*

FREDERIC CHOPIN was undoubtedly the greatest composer for the pianoforte the world had seen. But other artists, painters, composers, and architects have been equally prominent within their own fields of endeavor, yet have died in the same poverty in which they had been condemned to live. It is not difficult to guess the reason for their failure. They had missed out on two qualifications which had set Chopin apart from the rest of his colleagues. In the first place, he was the only genius produced by the Polish race while it was struggling for its existence as an independent nation, and in the second place, he had a unique chance of standing forth as the living symbol of a lost cause.

The other musicians who did not fare as well as he did were Austrians among other Austrians or Italians among other Italians or Dutchmen among the usual run of the Dutch. They could never hope to become the embodiment of all that was glamorous and heroic among a people in exile. By this I do not mean to detract one single F sharp from the assembled works of this unequalled teller of musical tales. I owe him as much of a debt of gratitude as anyone else who in moments of desperation has found consolation in listening to one of Frederic Chopin's nocturnes. But without their lost cause and the opportunity to impress themselves upon the rest of the world as the incarnation of all the hopes and aspirations of a nation which had the sympathy and admiration of every civilized human being, neither Frederic Chopin nor our beloved friend, Ignace Paderewski, would ever have attained those heights of fame they finally attained. Peace be to their ashes, and may they soon find a worthy successor to inspire the rest of us with a love for that utterly adorable, if at times completely exasperating, people known as the Poles.

There is very little sense in my repeating here the outstanding facts in Chopin's musical career. You can find them in every encyclopedia, and they are very simple. The boy played the piano before he could read and write. That piano, by the way was used for kindling wood by the Cossacks when they suppressed the Polish revolution of 1863, for that was the way in which the Russian usurpers usually gave expression to their interest in the cultural achievements of their subject races. At the age of six, little Frederic began to compose. His father not only recognized his son's uncanny abilities but he refrained from doing what so many other fathers under similar circumstances have done. He did not exploit his offspring as a musical prodigy, but neither did he threaten to break every bone in his body unless he gave up the idea of becoming a famous piano thumper and prepared himself for a more practical career, such as that of a bookkeeper or a government official with the expectation of a pension at the age of sixty. (I am giving you an offhand quotation from one of the letters of Schubert's father to his son Franz.) He quietly but effectively encouraged his son in his aspirations and all throughout his life he helped him as much as his modest circumstances allowed him to do.

It is true that the boy gave his first public concert at the age of eight, but that was not done for mercenary purposes. It had been arranged that he might bask in the admiration of the beautiful ladies of Warsaw. Chopin, all through his life, would love to do that sort of basking. When the time had come for him to be trained seriously in the rudiments of his craft (I mean music, not basking), he was sent to the best local teachers of the Polish capital and afterward to those in Vienna. Some of these, it appears, were not quite as good as they might have been, and it was due to their faulty methods that Chopin, during the whole of his amazing career,



Painting by Clara Klingshofer (1939)

The late Hendrik Willem Van Loon—"a hater of shackles on the mind or body, a liberal to the core of his soul and a fearless voice against tyranny that is silent only now." (N. Y. Times editorial)

was never able to overcome that technical awkwardness which finally made him decide to withdraw from the concert platform altogether and devote himself exclusively to the business of composing.

While in Vienna he had heard some of the greatest performers of his day, notably Hummel and Paganini. Like every other young artist, he felt convinced, after listening to that sort of playing, that he could do equally well, and for a time it looked that way. He had what it took to attract the crowd, especially the female part of the audience. But aside from a technique which never approached that of Liszt and many of the other great performers of that day, he was also lacking in that physical endurance which is absolutely essential for a concert virtuoso or an operatic prima donna. Chopin was like a brilliant ballplayer who begins to show signs of collapse after the seventh inning, and it is the seventh inning that counts.

Then came a series of disasters over which he had no control but which were to have a far-reaching influence upon his subsequent career. Chopin happened to be in Vienna in the year of 1830, when another ill-fated revolution broke out in Poland. He was cut off from his family in Warsaw. He never expected to see them again. He decided to go to England and from there to America to begin a new life. In Stuttgart in September of the year 1831 he heard the news of the fall of Warsaw and the beginning of those wholesale executions with which the old regime of Russia used to "pacify" its most recent territorial acquisitions.

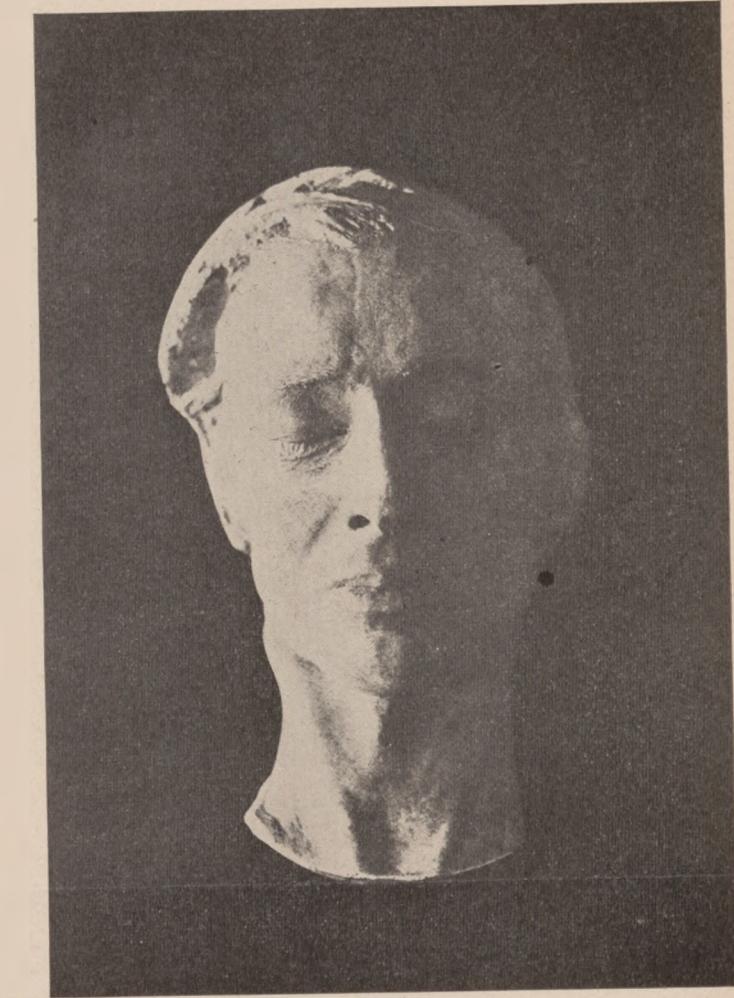
In a state of complete despondency Chopin traveled by slow stages to Paris, but there he gained new courage, for

he was welcomed as a conquering hero. The French, still smarting under the defeat of 1812, hated the Russians, and furthermore, Paris had "gone romantic" in a great big way. Chopin's music completely answered the needs of the con-

certgoing audiences while his Polish passport opened the doors of all the most worthwhile homes of the capital.

In Poland, events took their normal course. Russian gallows were being erected at all crossroads, and the Polish insurgents were in full flight. Soon Paris was chock-full of refugees. Most of them were as poor as church mice and lived in the slums. But a few of the great feudal families had anticipated what was going to happen and had carefully provided for the day when they could no longer dwell on their ancestral estates. They now used Paris as the center from which to prepare their counter-attack. Being well aware of the value of publicity, they meant to use every possible opportunity to prove to the world that as a race the Poles were infinitely more cultured than their Russian oppressors.

Overnight young Chopin had become exhibit No. 1 of Polish civilization. Rarely has any artist or author (and you cannot start a successful counterrevolution without either) lived up quite so magnificently and so satisfactorily to what was expected of him—or quite so easily and naturally. For Chopin at that time had all the necessary qualifications to become a popular idol. He was young and very good-looking, but in a delicate sort of way, so that people instinctively felt sorry for the poor boy whose shoulders were already bowed down with grief over the fate of his unhappy fatherland. And when he played one of his own compositions and was so deeply moved by the music that he had to ask some-



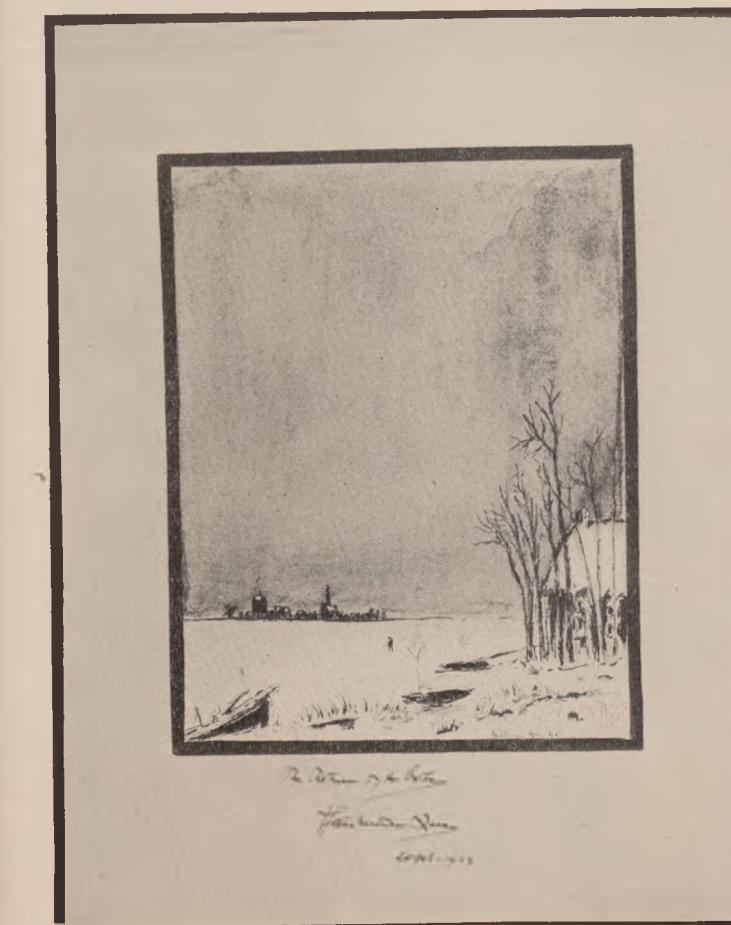
Death mask of Frederic Chopin.

one else to finish it for him—then the tragedy of Poland ceased to be merely something the people had read about in their newspapers. Then it became so real that those in the audience felt like taking up their muskets and rushing to the defense of their beloved Polish friends. But ere they could do this, the jubilant strains of a mazurka or a waltz had broken through the gloom that had settled down upon the hall, and everybody went home feeling that the cause of Polish freedom was not yet lost, that it never could be lost, that Poland would arise once more in all its ancient glory.

It was long before propaganda in the modern sense of the word had been invented. But Chopin and his music were the best propaganda a desperately outraged patriotism ever had. I wish to God he would come back to us right now!

Of course, as the years went by and nothing happened and the world (which has such a very short memory) began to forget the bestialities of the Romanovs in Poland and wherever else they set foot and the bestialities of the Hapsburgs in Italy and all the other bestialities which, these last two hundred years, have been an unavoidable part of what Europe used to call its "foreign policies," Poland too began to bore people and next it dropped out of their minds altogether. Not that this affected Chopin in his artistic career, for he continued to be the most sought-after piano teacher in Paris, and his compositions were published the moment he finished them. But the atmosphere around him was gradually changing, and although he was undoubtedly the most distinguished Pole of his time, when he, a mere pianist,

(Please turn to page 14)



"The Return of the Exile," a sketch by Van Loon offered to a Polish friend in 1943, reflects the deep sympathy felt by the Dutch author for Poland.

* From *Van Loon's Lives*. Written and illustrated by Hendrik Willem van Loon. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1942. Reprinted by permission.

THE SIX WHO CAME

Reported to *The Polish Review* by the Public Relations Office

TEN days after they had stepped ashore in America six members of the *Pestkas* arrived at Fort Oglethorpe, Ga., where they were guests of the Third WAC Training Center. For four days the "Polish WACs" lived with American WACs.

To see khaki-clad women quartered in barracks was not new to them, for the Polish WACs were wearing the uniform of the British ATS (Army Territorial Service) which is also khaki, and with one exception they have been in the Army for more than three years. The *Pestkas* are distinguished by the Polish eagle on their caps and buttons and a red and white "POLAND" shoulder patch. The party included Capt. Irene Grodzka, Sgts. Stefania Soltan, Wanda Skalinska, Cpl. Stanislawa Kos, and Pvt. Jadwiga Opolska and Stanislawa Zaremba.

Chosen because of their war experience and knowledge of English, the particular purpose of their visit to this country is to study women's military organizations here, but they will also visit Polish centers and they have volunteered to assist in the enlistment of Polish-American women in the WAC.

Those are the facts . . . in brief. But their visit with us was like a play by Pirandello or novel of Thornton Wilder.

"Report to London office," had said the orders from the Polish Government. And six members of the *Pestkas* began another journey. This time it was not a route of escape, for them there had been many escapes. So they met, for the first time, and learned they were to go to America to stay for five months. Change was customary with them, but this time it was a change indeed. The story of their experiences can not yet be told in full. But this can be said, the war caught them, and each has known the tragedy of destruction, evacuation, personal loss and the misery that accompanies war.

Each has known also, the spirit that does not die when people are separated from their families and friends . . . and from Poland. They have found help and courage and kindness and loyalty. Ask them and they will tell you that prayers have been answered. There is confidence in the final victory of the Allies and in the preservation of Poland. Fierce pride in their national integrity and love of country is the source of their strength.

To go around the world to fight for freedom is not too far. To be a part of some allied army is a privilege. The Poles have fought for freedom with many armies, for many countries. Americans revere the memory of Kosciuszko and Pulaski.

In the past women have shared the hardships and glories of their men at war. But in this tragic struggle in which destruction has been wanton, indiscriminate, brutal, the women of Poland felt a new and desperate urge to do more. So the *Pestka* was organized, and Polish women in uniform are found wherever Polish forces are stationed. The Army is their home, their only home now. Representative were the Polish "WACs" who stayed with us for a while here at the largest WAC training center in the United States. For those who came there was a grim past, there is an exciting present, and hopes are sure and bright for the future. Here is the story—that can be told—of The Six Who Came.

In command of the group was Capt. Irene Grodzka, a serious-minded woman, small in stature, with sandy hair and light brown eyes. She looked very trim in her uniform with its two silver stars on the shoulder tabs. For her this is a second visit to the United States. From 1931-33 she was here with her husband, a Rockefeller Fellow who studied at Harvard, Columbia and the University of Chicago.

When war came, Irene Grodzka was living in Lwow. With the invasion of Poland the Russians sent her to Kazakhstan



(U.S. Army Photo, Third WAC Training Center)

The Assistant Commandant of a WAC Training Center and the former Commandant of a Pestka Training Center meet at Fort Oglethorpe, Ga. They are Lt.-Col. Elizabeth Strayhorn (left) and Capt. Irene Grodzka.

in Southern Siberia. She has had no word of her husband since the Germans entered Poland.

The *Pestka* captain joined the service of her country in January 1942 as a private, and was advanced to a captaincy in July of the same year. From Russia she went with the Polish Army to Persia and Palestine where she became commandant of the *Pestka* training center. Then she was called to *Pestka* Headquarters in London with an administrative assignment. When it was decided to send a group to America, Capt. Grodzka was put in charge. As a former *Pestka* training center commander she was most interested in WAC organization here at the Third WAC Training Center. "I have seen WACs at work in England," she said, "now I am seeing the organization that is back of them." She was full of praise for what she saw.

Tallest and blondest of the six is Sgt. Stefania Soltan who wears a blue beret indicating that she is attached to an anti-tank division. She well remembers the days when she wore a khaki beret, in Norway with the famous Polish Highland Brigade.

Although she was born in Tiflis, Georgia (USSR), this attractive woman has spent most of her time in Cracow. When the Germans invaded Poland, long before the *Pestkas* were organized Stefania Soltan volunteered for service with the Red Cross.

Escaping from ravaged Poland she managed to become attached to the Polish forces that sailed from France for Norway to oppose the German invasion. Sgt. Soltan is one of the two Polish women who saw action on that battle front.

Third WAC Training Center, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia

The King of Norway later presented both of them with shoulder cords and medals, in specific recognition of their bravery in action with the Polish troops.

She is equally proud, perhaps even prouder of her Polish Military Cross. This decoration came later in Scotland. After the collapse of Norway, the Brigade escaped to France but was there for only a short time before that country collapsed. Again escape was necessary and again they were successful. With its original flag, the brigade, including the two women, was transported safely to Scotland. There it was that Gen. Sikorski pinned the Polish Military Cross on Sgt. Soltan's jacket. That was in 1940. Since then she has been doing welfare work with the Polish forces in Scotland until orders took her to London . . . and then to America.

Small, blond Sgt. Wanda Skalinska learned to speak English in a British hospital in England where she had been assigned to duty after her arrival in the British Isles. With a gleam in her blue eyes she tells you, "I was the first Polish girl in the ATS." Her interest now is in her war work. Forgotten for the duration are her plans for a career in music. A graduate of the Higher Conservatory of Music, the girl who hoped to sing in opera has deferred this dream until after the war is won. Her father, mother, two sisters and a brother are back there in Poland. She will return to them one happy day.

Cpl. Stanislawa Kos, a lively 23-year-old blond whom we



(U.S. Army Photo, Third WAC Training Center)

"Polish WACs" rest after a tour of the Third WAC training Center, Fort Oglethorpe, Ga. Top Pestka is Cpl. "Stasia" Kos, next is Pvt. Jadwiga Opolska; front row, left to right, are Pvt. Stanislawa Zaremba, Sgt. Stefania Soltan and Sgt. Wanda Skalinska.



(U.S. Army Signal Corps Photo)
Sgt. Stefania Soltan, veteran member of the "Polish WACs" and twice decorated for bravery.

called "Stasia," traveled farthest to get here. She was born in China where her father was a railroad engineer. She learned to speak English while living in the Far East. Oddly enough the young girl was in Japan from 1938 to 1942, and her road to freedom took her around the world. The first step was back to friendly China. Then came the long trip to England by way of Shanghai, Singapore, Mozambique, and Cape Town.

Once in England her one desire was to get into service. She joined the WAAFs in April 1942. She was among the first Polish girls to be trained for service with the Air Force. English women were in charge but when the Polish girls were taught they took over, the first class becoming instructors. "Stasia" was an instructor, and as more and more Polish women came to England from the Middle East she helped train them for jobs with the Polish Air Force.

"I am so proud to be a corporal, so very proud," she said, "and I do not want to take the course for officers . . . I want to be close to the girls." Then orders came to report to London. As a *Pestka* she was to be one of the party to go to America.

Twenty-four years ago Stanislawa Zaremba was living in Chicago where she was born. She was 11 years old then. Her family returned to Poland and when the war broke out she was living in Bialowieza. After the Stalin-Sikorski Pact was signed she joined the *Pestkas*. In 1942 Pvt. Zaremba went into Persia, then to Palestine where her husband is stationed with the Polish Army. By December 1943 she was in England. When her orders came she was working on the staff of a liaison officer there.

In April Pvt. Jadwiga Opolska will celebrate her twenty-second birthday here in the United States. She is the youngest of the six who came and the only one with black hair. With a wistful look in her large brown eyes she remembers her last birthday . . . in Palestine, and the one before, in

(Please turn to page 14)

F R E D E R I C C H O P I N

(Continued from page 11)

aspired to marry the sister of a boyhood friend, the Countess Marie Wodzinska, her esteemed papa, old Count Wodzinski, let him understand (and in very plain terms too) that such a match was absolutely out of the question. What with this annoyance and a few others, Chopin once more contemplated that step which he had already wanted to take in the year 1831 and emigrate to America.

His family, his friends, the Polish colony in Paris, his public, and his creditors—they all went down on their knees to prevent him from taking such a dreadful step, which they considered to be the equivalent of a social and musical suicide. Such appeals are of course very flattering, and Chopin let himself be easily persuaded to remain where he was, and more is the pity! For it was in Paris that Frederic Chopin now met with a fate infinitely worse than falling into the hands of the ferocious redskins of the Far West or the managers of the East.

A great many volumes have been written upon the subject of Amandine Lucile Aurore, Baroness Dudevant. After she had spent three years in an English nunnery, had survived matrimony with the Baron Dudevant, and had achieved motherhood, she had been obliged to find some means of support for herself and her two angel children and had thereupon decided to try her hand at professional journalism and popular fiction. Being a bright lass and suffering from very little competition (in those days, ladies did not yet write for a living), she had a lot of leisure for her favorite amatory pursuits. Then one day she met Chopin, and he was hers.

He was at that moment a very sick man. The first symptoms of tuberculosis had just announced themselves. The cause of his beloved Poland was lost. His career as a public performer, so he felt, had come to an end. He badly needed a mother, and George Sand offered to take her place.

I shall lightly skip over that incredible voyage to Majorca, whither Amandine Lucile Aurore took both Frederic and her ailing son, that the mild climate of this Mediterranean Island should cure both of them of their bothersome pulmonary afflictions. Majorca sounded very romantic while you still talked about it in the Rue Pigalle. But after you had disembarked at La Palma, it was Spain, and Spain at its worst, and you were right back in the Middle Ages. There was no hotel in the Majorcan capital. There were no apartments. There was no food fit for human beings, especially those accustomed to the cuisine of Paris. And everywhere you were hounded by suspicious officials. When you sent to Paris for your piano (for her dear Frederic must go on with his work and must write even more beautiful things than before) it took the customs people six months to allow it to pass. Why should anyone in Majorca want a piano? It looked queer. It smacked of revolution. And when you fell sick and coughed your head off, there was no doctor on the

island, but the officials, suspecting that you might have caught some queer kind of pestilence, forced you to leave the city and withdraw to a home in the country, miles away from everywhere, in an old and damp monastery, where you added bronchitis to your other troubles and almost died of them.

Chopin, however, must have been tougher than he looked. He not only survived Majorca, but also the tender care of his Lucrezia, and he returned to Paris and lived for a good many years to come.

On the whole, these last ones were not very happy. Paris was rushing from one revolution to the next. News from Poland grew increasingly bad. And under those circumstances teaching—even at twenty francs a lesson (an unheard-of price in those days)—was apt to become an intolerable chore. Besides, that bronchitis of Majorca seemed to have come to stay. Chopin was beginning to lose a good deal of blood and often he was so weak that he could hardly move. But he needed money and, like Paderewski in his last days, he painfully dragged himself to his piano stool, that he might make a few more pennies to pay other people's debts and help his poor country, but most of all that he might continue to live up to his reputation of being a really grand seigneur who never turned down a request for some slight assistance on the part of a fellow patriot and who would have starved to death before he confessed that he himself had not had anything to eat during the last three days.

Chopin died on October 17, of the year 1849. At his funeral, Mozart's "Requiem" was played, together with his own "Funeral March" from the Sonata in B-flat minor and, after that, two of his preludes, the E minor and the B minor. A silver goblet, filled with earth from his beloved fatherland, given him by his friends when he left Poland for good in the year of 1830, descended with him into the grave, together with the withered rose Marie Wodzinska had given him when she still hoped that her father might relent and would allow him to marry her.

Today all the actors in this drama are dead and gone. Nothing remains of either the oppressors or the oppressed. The Romanovs, who drove Chopin into his exile, are dead, but they did not have such an impressive funeral, and Polish soil proved more merciful than Bolshevik quicklime. And to be remembered as the man who wrote the "Nocturne" in E-flat major and the "Mazurka" in A minor is a happier fate than to survive in people's memories as the despot of the gallows and the knout. I, who am old enough to have seen the merry Cossacks do the bidding of their unspeakable masters, who have lived through those agonizing days when there still was hope for my Polish friends, I here and now offer a heartfelt prayer for the souls of those departed tyrants who destroyed all that was lovely and charming in the fair land of Poland: "May their names be forever cursed!" And the same goes for all their successors, in every part of the world, and in all eternity, amen.

T H E S I X W H O C A M E

(Continued from page 13)

Persia and all the other birthdays in Poland. They were the happiest. Another birthday in Poland is what she is working for.

Jadwiga Opolska was at school in Kowel, when she was sent with her mother and four young sisters north to Archangel. Jadwiga worked in the forests of Russia to support the family as her father had been killed by the Germans. Her sisters were too young to work. Her mother was too ill. Jadwiga's mother died in the forests of Russia. She is buried there in a rude pine box not far from the barracks that was their home for a while.

After the Soviet-Polish Treaty (Stalin-Sikorski Pact) the Opolski children were free. Jadwiga joined the *Pestkas* and

arranged to have her young sisters sent to a Polish orphanage in East Africa. Pvt. Opolska was sent to Persia where she stayed until transferred to the *Pestka* center in Palestine. In August 1943 she was sent to England. She had asked to be sent there, for she hoped she might find friends she had known. She did not find them there but she found many at the Third WAC Training Center. So did each of the six who came. Their stay with us was short, but it did not take long to establish the best of relations. With patience they answered our many questions. We did the same for them. The visit was of mutual benefit. When the time came for them to drive away we were there to wave "goodbye and good luck." There were smiles on our faces, as on theirs, but in our hearts already we missed each other.

W A R S A W

by HENRY SHOSKES

Based on a poem written by an unknown Jewish girl on the eve of her execution in the Warsaw Ghetto.
Rendered into English verse by Elbert Aidline-Trommer

Warsaw, Warsaw, town beloved,
Warsaw, native city,
Where the brutal foeman knows
Neither pause nor pity.

From Krasinski Place the guns
At the ghetto firing—
Where's the God of Israel,
Great and awe-inspiring?

Deborahs and Samsons fight
Where the battle rages—
"Though we die today, we'll live
In the future ages!"

"Forward march, with hand-grenades!
Nazi tanks we're meeting—
German monsters blow to bits—
Thus the foe we're greeting!

"Many are the victims brave
In the bleeding city—
Set the Nazis' tanks afire
Show the beasts no pity!

"Do they think this is the end
They so fondly cherish?
Phoenix-like we shall arise,
They—forever perish!

"Though TODAY—a muted song—
Lies prostrate and gory
Wait—TOMORROW will arise
In a burst of glory!"

"And perhaps for Poland's sake,
More than any other's,
All the world so bravely fights
Like so many brothers—

"Black and Yellow, Brown and White,
All like blood relations,
Weaving wreaths to place upon
Free united nations.

"Warsaw mourning, Warsaw hushed,
Foe and death despising—
You will live to see once more
Rays of freedom rising!

Reprinted by courtesy of the author; from the forthcoming "Pages of a Ghetto Diary" by Dr. Henry Shoskes, with preface by J. P. Junosza.

HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS AGO: KOSCIUSZKO WINS AT RACLAWICE

(Continued from page 5)

Denisov was pressing hard on the peasants. Denisov then did not dare cross the ravine, but formed a quadrangle and retreated.

A whole Russian battalion was annihilated. The Poles were supposed to have lost only 200 men, the Russians more than a thousand with an additional cannon. The rain and the night made further fighting impossible.

In camp that night Kosciuszko with bared head thanked the army for its valor in the name of Poland. Kosciuszko then publicly conferred upon peasant Bartos, who had been

the first to reach the Russian battery, promotion and nobility with the name Glowacki. Before the army he flung off his uniform and donned their *sukmana* as a sign of honor to his peasant soldiers.

Kosciuszko showed excellent presence of mind, strategic skill and capacity for rapid action.

Raclawice changed the insurrection from a local enterprise into a general national uprising and gained the support of the whole Polish army. Raclawice was the triumph of a great idea, the victory, under the strength of the ideal, of a few against many. It lives as one of those moments in a nation's history that will only die with the nation that inspired it.

T R E N D S O F P O L I S H

(Continued from page 6)

between income and expenditure upon current consumption, affects the magnitude of national income, as the source of saving) was also attempted under the influence of Keynes.

Finally, I should like to mention contributions to the study of values and prices, of great interest to Polish Economics. These problems were treated mostly on the basis of marginal analysis, under the influence partly of the Austrian school, and partly of Pareto. But some studies of the problem of values were based on sociological lines (Stanislaw Grabski), who treated economic valuation as part of a historical process and related it to the general scale of values and social structure. The individual scale of preferences was, in the opinion of these writers, the outcome of a social whole and of a social and economic structure. The scale of preferences was treated by them as a product of economy, but not as its governing center.

The treatment of the problem of value on Marxian lines was rather exceptional.

Prior to the present war the body of Polish Economics was on its way to development both from the qualitative and quantitative points of view. With the growth of Polish Economics the specialization of economic research and the crea-

E C O N O M I C T H O U G H T

tion of centers confined to a definite section of the problems and methods of economic investigation proceeded rapidly. We had a fair number of economic societies, especially in Cracow, Lwow, Poznan, and Warsaw, for the coordination and promotion of economic research, and a number of scientific reviews. Quarterlies such as *The Economist* in Warsaw or *Movement in Law and Economics* in Poznan; *Economic Review* in Lwow, or the *Trade Cycle*, the organ of the Institute of Research and Trade Cycles and Prices: *Review of Economic Studies*, published in English by the Polish Academy of Science and Letters in Cracow; and finally the numerous publications of the Economic Society, Cracow, under the leadership of its chairman, Prof. A. Krzyzanowski.

All this constructive research was unfortunately stopped by the war. German terror in Poland has rendered impossible any continuation of scientific research, in this as well as in other domains.

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Cover: Cpl. Stanislawa Kos, member of the "Pestka" group that visited the Third WAC Training Center, Fort Oglethorpe, Ga. (U.S. Army Photo, Third WAC Training Center)

Appeal for a Polish-Russian Settlement

By 50 American Educators, Jurists, Publicists and Religious Leaders

We believe the time has come when those Americans who regard close cooperation with Soviet Russia as a cornerstone of victory and permanent peace should address a word of appeal to our Russian allies. We speak as individuals who have favored all-out aid to Russia ever since Hitler's unprovoked attack in 1941. We have expressed our gratitude for Russia's unparalleled efforts in the common cause, and our conviction that friendly cooperation with Russia is not only necessary but possible, despite our differing political and economic systems.

Because of the necessity for tactful avoidance of unnecessary criticism between Allies in time of war, and because Russia's stunning victories and inestimable sacrifices have placed all her allies under a special obligation to her, we have hitherto allowed some things which aroused misgiving to pass in silence.

Recent events, however, have convinced us that continued silence will only play into the hands of the isolationists and enemies of aid to Russia. For they are not silent, and every act of the Soviet press or government which can be misunderstood or criticized in America is grist to their mill. We are further emboldened to speak frankly because our ever-increasing war effort, our increasing lend-lease aid to Russia, and our coordinated plans for the invasion of Europe all give us a greater right to speak to our Russian allies as equal partners in the war.

. . . The apparent determination of the Soviet Government to insist on a unilateral settlement of the Polish problem, without mediation or consent either of Russia's allies or the Polish Government, has come as a shock to American opinion.

The American and British peoples cannot forget that Poland was the first nation to stop Hitler's procession of bloodless victories by which he made himself all but invincible. The Poles determined to fight even though many foresaw that war meant the temporary conquest and enslavement of Poland, because they believed that the justice of Poland's cause and the loyalty of her allies would insure her resurrection in the end.

They made this decision at a time when Russia thought it necessary to collaborate with Hitler, and yet Poland, after suffering untold agony, is now asked to surrender far more to Russia than what she refused to give Hitler. For the Curzon line frontier demanded by Russia is close to the Hitler-Stalin line of 1939. It means a loss of 47% of pre-war Poland, while it represents a gain of less than 1% for the Soviet Union. The Polish Government has declared its readiness to discuss concessions, but no government, least of all a government in exile, could make such concessions as this without the express consent of the Polish people.

So when Wendell Willkie wrote an article appealing for a friendly settlement of the Polish problem, and when Secretary Hull and Foreign Minister Eden offered to mediate at the request of the Polish Government, Russia's reaction was not understood in America. Although Russia participates in the Allied Commission's decision in the west, she refused our participation in Russia's decisions in the east; and not only did she refuse the Anglo-American offer but the bitter attacks in *Pravda* followed this well-meant suggestion.

This attitude on Russia's part plays squarely into the hands of those who have always distrusted her intentions and who have always opposed international cooperation. Isolationist senators and newspapers now can use the same arguments against a violation of the Atlantic Charter in regard to Poland which were used against the League of Nations because the Treaty of Versailles failed to live up to the Fourteen Points. Even those who sneered at the Atlantic Charter when it was first propounded will not let the American people forget its violation. Thus the hopeful trend in America shown in the Gallup poll and in the votes of Congress toward a new world order is threatened.

As for the Polish government-in-exile, it is not our concern to pass judgment upon the merits of some of Russia's complaints against it. But it is at least a legitimate government, supported by the Polish Underground and composed almost entirely of men and parties who opposed the dictatorship of the Polish colonels. It is recognized as far more progressive and far more representative than the Polish Government of 1939, and yet even that reactionary government made the heroic decision to fight Nazi aggression in response to the will of the whole nation.

It is for the Polish people and for them alone to decide how far they will recognize the present government when they

are free. In the meantime, if improvements along democratic lines are to be made they cannot be dictated from outside, least of all dictated by one great power which is not now a democracy. For how can we uphold the principle of a strong and independent Poland, to which Russia is committed, if Russia alone is to decide unilaterally what constitutes a democratic Polish government?

It would make little difference whether a unilateral Russian policy is imposed direct from Moscow or through the Ukrainian or White Russian Soviet Republics. Nor is the problem solved by the proposal to compensate Poland for the loss of much of the country to which she has strong historical and cultural claims by giving her territories to the north and west, where her claims are infinitely less. That would mean two violations of the spirit of the Atlantic Charter instead of one. Whatever is done to reduce Poland's frontier in the east or strengthen them in the northwest should be done for the sake of a just and permanent peace—not by robbing Peter to pay Paul.

If Russia values America's friendship as we believe she does, she must not use her power to impose either an unjust frontier or a puppet government upon the Polish people. Russia must choose. She can impose her will but she cannot impose it without estranging millions of Americans whose opinions may be decisive in the development of our foreign policy. And Russia will estrange others besides Americans, for what will millions of citizens of the small conquered (and satellite) countries have to hope from an allied victory, if this is how we discharge our obligations to Poland? Such a default would be worth many battalions to Hitler. We hope, therefore, that Russia's immense power will enable her to be generous.

. . . In the interest of all the United Nations we urge the British and American Governments to raise these questions with the Soviet Government, and we ourselves appeal to our Russian allies to take cognizance of the legitimate disquiet of the American people. We ask this not only because it would strengthen our unity in the war and hasten the day of victory, but because it would cement the friendship between the Russian and American peoples in the crucial years to come.

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The Rt. Rev. Malcolm Peabody, Bishop of Central New York; Dr. Horace M. Kalen, New School of Social Research; Alexander Kahn, Editor Jewish Daily Forward; Harry W. Faidler, Chairman, League Industrial Democracy; George Counts, Professor; Dean Alfange, American Labor Party, Candidate New York Governorship; Felix Morley, President Haverford College; Henry Hazlett, Editor, Writer, New York Times; Sydney Hook, Professor, New York University; William Bohm, Editor, New Leader; Mrs. Herbert Agar, Freedom House; Mrs. Andrew Jackson, Editor Harpers Magazine; C. G. Paulding, Editor, Commonwealth; Max Danish, Executive Board International Ladies Garment Workers Union; James Loeb, Director Union for Democratic Action; Dr. L. M. Burkhead, Chairman Friends of Democracy.